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CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE
ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM OF ZOOLOGY

No. 26: CHARLES FOTHERGILL (1782-1840).

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CHARLES FOTHERGILL
1782-1840

MUCH of the history of early Upper Canada centred around a comparatively small group of intelligent Europeans who emigrated to the new province in its formative years. Of many of these pioneers biographies have been written, but of others, prominent in the early public life of the province, we have been told little. In the latter group was Charles Fothergill, a well-educated native of Yorkshire, England, who came to Canada in 1816 and remained until his death in 1840. In addition to being a legislator, King's Printer, magistrate, and holder of several other public offices, Fothergill was a newspaper publisher, an artist, and one of the first individuals to make studies of the natural history of the province. The present account of him has been prepared in the belief that any contribution of this nature, however slight, will assist toward a more precise understanding of the cultural growth of early Upper Canada. This study has been made possible by the "discovery" since 1931 of no fewer than sixteen holograph manuscripts by Fothergill (six of them written in Canada and ten written earlier in England), to the reading of which have been added some delving through the literature of the time, and consultation with certain of Fothergill's numerous descendants. From this examination Fothergill emerges not only as a figure of importance in the history of the colony, but as the author of practically the only written account of the animal life of the Province of Upper Canada.

Charles Fothergill was born at York, England, on May 23, 1782,[1] of an ancient Quaker family that was established in the north of England at the time of the Norman conquest. In one of his letters Fothergill wrote of "our castle" on the Foss, near York, and in the Charles Theodore Fothergill volume of manuscript he refers in 1811 to "my house at Nun Monkton," near York. He traced his ancestry[2] to Sir George Fothergill, one of William the

[1]H. H. Gladstone, "The Fothergill Family as Ornithologists" (*The Naturalist*, No. 784, May, 1922, 149-52).

[2]A note in the handwriting of Charles Fothergill is inserted in a book in the possession of his grandson, Mr. Charles Theodore Fothergill. The book, by Samuel Fothergill, brother of Charles's grandfather, is entitled *Discourses delivered at Several Meeting Houses of the People called Quakers* (ed. 3, 1792). The note begins "The ancestor of this family in England was Sir George Fothergill, the favourite general of William the Conqueror, who was born in Normandy. His pedigree is recorded in the Tower of London." A list of some of his descendants from 1066 to 1547 is given. Mrs. Atkinson has in her possession a reversible friendship ring, given to Sir George by William, bearing the inscriptions, in French, "Friendship is above price" and "I sing only when dying."

CHARLES FOTHERGILL

From a painting in the possession of a grandsón, Charles Theodore Fothergill of Whitby, Ontario

Conqueror's generals, born in Normandy, who was with William when he took York in 1068 and was rewarded with a grant of land in Westmorland.[3] Charles's father was John Fothergill, a comb-maker or ivory manufacturer of York, on whose death in 1807 a writer remarked: "He was . . . one of the people called Quakers whose society he eminently adorned by his sound principles . . . a life of exemplary virtue . . . and an active principle of benevolence and charity, flowing in secret streams to the distressed . . . . [The] intelligence of his mind, his powers of conversation, his lively wit and his pleasant humour . . . gave an uncommon attraction to his society . . . ."[4] Charles's mother was Mary Ann Forbes, whose father was a kinsman of the first baron of Scotland. One of her brothers, James Forbes, F.R.S., was a distinguished artist and traveller[5] (author of *Oriental Memoirs*, 4 volumes, 1813, in the preparation of which Charles assisted).[6] To him, Charles owed much for early tuition in art and natural history, a debt which he acknowledged in dedicating to his uncle a book he published in London in 1813, under the title *Essay on the Philosophy, Study, and Use of Natural History.*[7]

Dr. John Fothergill (1712-80), famous London physician, scientist, and philanthropist, was a brother of Charles's grandfather. Two of the most eminent names in the annals of early American natural history, George Edwards and William Bartram, are inseparably linked with that of Dr. Fothergill. He assisted Edwards with the publication in England of his works on birds (1743-51)—many new-world species being illustrated for the first time—and it was at his request[8] and expense that Bartram, the illustrious Quaker, made his botanical and other investigations in the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida between 1773 and 1778.[9] Dr. Fothergill's pamphlet on diphtheria in 1748, one of the earliest descriptions of the disease, was subsequently translated into

[3]R. H. Fox, *Dr. John Fothergill and His Friends* (London, England, 1919), 6.

[4]*Monthly Magazine*, May, 1807.

[5]Forbes spent two decades in various parts of Asia, Africa, America, and Europe, investigating the manners and customs of the inhabitants, studying the natural history, and delineating the principal places and picturesque scenery of the regions visited. He also drew the costumes of the natives, and the beasts, birds, fishes, insects, and plants encountered.

[6]Gladstone, "The Fothergill Family as Ornithologists" (*The Naturalist*, no. 785, June, 1922, pp. 189-92).

[7]Charles Fothergill, *Essay on the Philosophy, Study, and Use of Natural History* (London, England, 1813).

[8]Fox, *Dr. John Fothergill and His Friends*, 27, 185-7.

[9]Francis Harper, "Travels in Georgia and Florida, 1773-4: A Report to Dr. John Fothergill [by] William Bartram" (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new series, XXXIII, part II, Nov. 1943, 124, 204).

several languages. In London, Dr. Fothergill became intimate with Benjamin Franklin in 1757. He was essentially a man of peace and his part in the negotiations in 1775 to avert the threatened break between the colonies and the mother country is a matter of record. Of him, Franklin wrote "I think a worthier man never lived . . . ."[10]

Other members of the Fothergill family were distinguished in the realms of art, medicine, and science. Charles's uncle, William Fothergill, a clever bird student, supplied Charles with accounts of the bird-life of Carr-end, Wensleydale, Yorkshire, the ancestral home of the family from the time one John Fothergill migrated eastward from Westmorland soon after 1600 until 1841, when it was sold.[11] Charles and his uncle carried on a regular correspondence, extracts from which were published in 1854. Both were disciples of Gilbert White, the famous naturalist of Selborne.[12] Another relative, a first cousin, Alexander Fothergill, "made beautiful drawings from the life of nearly all the birds, fish, etc." of Carr-end ; another first cousin, Dr. John (brother of Alexander), was also an artist and wrote the list of birds in *The History of Richmondshire*[13]; Charles's own brother, Dr. Samuel, was co-editor of the *Medical and Physical Journal* from 1810 to 1821, and attended Queen Victoria's mother when she was at Weymouth for her health;[14] and his own sister, Eliza, was a portrait and landscape artist of ability.[15]

Charles was early attracted to the study of birds. At the age of thirteen he was making notes on Yorkshire birds and in 1799, at the age of seventeen, he published at York his *Ornithologia Britannica*, a folio of eleven pages, listing 301 species of British birds.[16] Captain Hugh Gladstone, who wrote an article on *The Fothergill Family as Ornithologists* in 1922, has remarked that "such precocity is remarkable, but . . . not infrequently noticed in young persons of the Quaker persuasion, who, dissuaded against

[10]Fox, *Dr. John Fothergill and His Friends*, 361. [11]*Ibid.*, 4.

[12]B. R. M[orris], [Extracts from correspondence between William and Charles Fothergill, 1799-1812] (*The Naturalist*, IV, 1854, 143-6, 167-8).

[13]T. D. Whitaker, *A History of Richmondshire, in the North Riding of the County of York* (1823), I, 415-16.

[14]George Crosfield, *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Samuel Fothergill* (London, England, 1843).

[15]A series of five flower paintings, by Eliza, is in the possession of Mrs. Carrie Shepherd, and her sister, Mrs. Katherine Shepherd; a painting she made of Scarborough Cliffs, Yorkshire, is in Miss Mary Fothergill Reid's possession; a portrait of Charles when he was eighteen years of age has been published by Gladstone in "The Fothergill Family as Ornithologists"; and Miss Fothergill, of Whitby, has a painting by Eliza of Larchfield, Leeds, Yorkshire (where Charles lived in 1813).

[16]Charles Fothergill, *Ornithologia Britannica* (York, England, 1799).

the usual sports and pastimes of youth, are early induced to prosecute the study of Natural History and kindred subjects."[17] In 1803, Charles published a two-volume work at London (totalling 608 pages) entitled *The Wanderer: or a Collection of Original Tales and Essays founded upon Facts*[18] and in 1813 his *Essay on the Philosophy, Study, and Use of Natural History* appeared, in London. In this book of 236 pages he stated that he had become accustomed to consider every hour that was not appropriated to profitable thinking or useful exertion as lost or misspent, and that, in early life, the ardour of his love for the pursuits of natural history was so great that he overcame many serious difficulties in order to make himself personally acquainted with the lives and manners of various animals in their native haunts.[19] According to Mrs. Katherine Shepherd, one of his grand-daughters, living in Lindsay, Ontario, Fothergill also "contributed generously to the magazines of his day in England."

Fothergill's great work, the product of his lifetime and the subject-matter of many of his manuscript volumes, was to be entitled "Memoirs and Illustrations of the Natural History of the British Empire," but it was never published. To obtain original material, he spent several years in wandering through such parts of England as were least known, one year in Wales, one in Ireland, two in Scotland, two on the Isle of Man (1814-5), and one (1806) in the Shetlands and Orkneys. His twenty-four years residence in Canada was undertaken, primarily, with the object of studying the zoology of British North America. The work was to have comprised several volumes and was to have been illustrated by his own drawings. In dedicating the first volume of the contemplated series to the King of Great Britain,[20] Fothergill remarked that

> The bright visions of hope that once play'd around my youthful fancy promised the accomplishment of better things in that I should one day be able to present the Sovereign of my country and my Countrymen with something of this kind that should be more worthy. But the early gathering of life's rudest storms retarded my progress and it is now long since I experienced how rapidly the light of a first hope recedes with declining years. Under kindlier circumstances than those which

[17]Gladstone, "The Fothergill Family as Ornithologists" (*The Naturalist*, no. 784, May, 1922, 149-52).

[18]Charles Fothergill, *The Wanderer: or A Collection of Original Tales and Essays, founded upon Facts* (2 vols., London, England, 1803).

[19]Copies of the *Wanderer* are in the hands of Fothergill's descendants, one of which, in the possession of Miss Reid, has marginal notes by Charlotte, Fothergill's first wife; and a copy of his *Essay* is to be found in the library of the Royal Ontario Museum of Zoology.

[20]In the Clendenan manuscript.

have fallen to my lot, my original purpose might have been more nearly realized. A Nat: Hist: of the Brit: Empire is a Nat: Hist: of the World—and I once intended to have visited all its parts and not to have put my materials together until I had done so. My purposes have been changed by necessity not from inclination and I can now only hope that these volumes will be found to furnish materials of some value and some hints that may be useful to a more successful follower in the same path.

An even more ambitious work, which he contemplated but never published, was to be entitled "Some Account of My Own Times." In his manuscript "References and Quotations, Vol. 4" he lists the titles of the twenty-one proposed volumes, as follows: natural history, general politics, general literature, drama, fine arts, poetry, mechanics and useful inventions, agriculture and gardening, sports and pastimes, anecdotes and biography, antiquities, great military and naval actions, geography and topography, voyages and travels, jurisprudence and law, extraordinary narratives, arts and sciences, miscellanies, sorcery and magic, cruelty and crimes, and manners and customs.

Fothergill's interest in breeding race-horses in Yorkshire—resented by the Quakers—was responsible for his virtual banishment from the sect and from England.[21] He had records of sixty-one horses bred up to 1815. In his *Essay*, he wrote with affection also of his spaniels.

In 1811 he married Charlotte Nevins, of Larchfield, Leeds, Yorkshire, and in July, 1816, he and his wife and two infant sons, took passage for Canada on the sailing-ship *William*, of London, Captain Patton, Master. An excellent water-colour painting of a red-breasted nuthatch, done on the voyage (in the McGillivray manuscript), attests to Fothergill's skill as an ornithological artist. Other examples of his work, in colour, that have been preserved, represent slate-coloured juncos, rose-breasted grosbeaks, and jellyfishes, and his black-and-white sketches show black-capped chickadees, white-fronted terns, Irish elks, and rose-coloured pastors. Sketches Fothergill made of scenes at Port Hope and Rice Lake in 1819 are in the hands of descendants and, in addition, one of his volumes contains a series of about 40 water-colours, which he, as a young man, made in England. It is the opinion of Mrs. Katherine Shepherd that most of his draw-

[21]The Charles Theodore Fothergill manuscript is a record of the horses Fothergill owned between 1810 and 1834; there is an article in the Atkinson manuscript (vol. 4) entitled "Original Remarks and Observations on the Breed and Management of Blood-Horses, from long and actual experience"; and in the Reid volume, Fothergill wrote of himself as "an extensive breeder in a district where the best horses in England . . . were produced."

ings, which he had assembled to illustrate his *Memoirs*, went to the United States after his death.

Five months were spent in the vicinity of Quebec City. His journey by sleigh from Quebec to York, in February, 1817, forms the subject of one of his preserved manuscripts. According to Robert Gourlay, Fothergill boarded with him in 1817 at De-Forest's Hotel, in York, and was "busy aiding immigrants."[22]

In the early spring of 1817, the Fothergills settled at Smith's Creek, Port Hope (then called Toronto for a short time), where Charles opened a general store and became the first postmaster of the village.[23] According to Lindsey, he "brought considerable means with him to Canada."[24] Fothergill was dismissed from his office, later, for his criticism of the post-office administration.[25]

At Port Hope, the family lived until 1831 in a cottage at the back of a fine woods about three-fourths of a mile from Lake Ontario.[26] The seven-roomed cottage, at the time Fothergill sold it, was described as "that valuable and delightful residence, Ontario Cottage, within one mile and a half [north] of the flourishing village of Port Hope, on the lake shore; together with 130 acres of excellent land, well watered and wooded . . ." with a large garden, orchard, trout creek, barns, out-buildings, etc.[27] Their property on Smith's Creek included Park-lots 70 and 79. Fothergill was one of the principal founders of the Port Hope Harbour and Wharf Company, founded March 18, 1829.

From early in 1817, Fothergill had a place on Rice Lake.[28] This, his hunting-lodge, he called "Castle Fothergill."[29] It was situated in South Monaghan Township, on the west side of the west mouth of the Otonabee River, on a point known as "Fother-

[22]R. F. Gourlay, *The Banished Briton and Neptunian: Being a Record of the Life, Writings, Principles and Projects of Robert Gourlay, Esq., now Robert Fleming Gourlay* (Boston, 1843, 1845), I, 149-50; II,498.

[23]A painting which Fothergill made of Smith's Creek at the bottom of his grounds in 1819, is in the possession of Mrs. Carrie Shepherd, and a painting he made of Port Hope from his parlour window, in the same year, is in the library of Miss Elizabeth Fothergill. One of his manuscripts (the Reid volume) contains an account of stock taken into his store at Port Hope between December 9, 1817, and April 2, 1818, with the various items listed, persons from whom purchased, and the cost and selling prices, in sterling.

[24]W. A. Craick, *Port Hope Historical Sketches* (Port Hope, 1901), 22; Charles Lindsey, *The Life and Times of Wm. Lyon Mackenzie* (Toronto, 1862), I, 53-5.

[25]William Smith, *The History of the Post Office in British North America, 1639-1870* (Cambridge, England, 1920), 144-5.

[26]W. R. Riddell, "Robert (Fleming) Gourlay" (*Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society*, XIV, 1916, 37, 60).

[27]See *Cobourg Star*, June 7, 1831, and October 10, 1832.

[28]E. C. Guillet, *Early Life in Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1932), 62.

[29]T. W. Poole, *A Sketch of the Early Settlement . . . of the . . . County of Peterborough* (Peterborough, 1867), 2.

gill Point" for half a century after his death, until it was changed to "Jubilee Point" to commemorate Queen Victoria's jubilee in 1897. A mill was operated there by Fothergill during the winter of 1821-2 on the 1,200 acres ceded to him by the government.[30] He wrote extensively in his manuscripts of the Mississauga Indians and the animals of Rice Lake. He prepared a vocabulary of the Indians' language (apparently not preserved); nursed their chieftain, Captain Mohawk, when he accidentally shot himself there one September; used to hunt with them; became a great favourite among them; looked after their interests in the courts and in parliament, and was honoured by being made their white chief "Anmegahbowh" ("standing before many") and by the gift of a belt of birch-bark, sewn with porcupine quills, from Captain Mohawk in 1819. As a magistrate at Cobourg on September 18, 1820, we find him taking up the case of a ten-year old Indian boy, "Negaunausing," charged with murder. Fothergill had the boy pardoned on the grounds of extreme youthfulness and previous good conduct.[31]

During the whole period of his twenty-four years' residence in Upper Canada, Fothergill was a member of the Land Board[32] and a magistrate of the Court of Requests. In 1823, he described himself as "Justice of the Peace for the Home and Newcastle Districts." He was not long in Canada before he began to take an active interest in politics. In 1818 he was the means of checking the career of Robert Gourlay, whom he branded as "an agitator, who desired to make Upper Canada a part of the United States . . . [and] the most indefatigable political misanthropist, and screw-augur, with whom [he had ever come] . . . in contact." Fothergill, a moderate reformer himself, "always felt a sentiment of pity, rather than of anger" towards Gourlay.[33]

Fothergill's third son was born in 1821[34] and in 1822 his wife died at York[35] and was buried in the old churchyard to the north of St. James Cathedral.

From January 1, 1822, to January 31, 1826, Fothergill was King's Printer of Upper Canada.[36] His home in York, at least

[30] *Weekly Register*, June 13, 1822.

[31] Charles Fothergill, *Fifth Edition Toronto Almanac and Royal Calendar of Upper Canada for the Year 1839* (Toronto, 1839).

[32] Charles Fothergill, *The York Almanac and Royal Calendar of Upper Canada for the Year 1823*—also for 1824, 1825 and 1826 (York, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1825).

[33] *Weekly Register*, Nov. 21 and Dec. 19, 1822 and Sept. 9, 1824.

[34] *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1822. [35] *Ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1822.

[36] *Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada . . . 5th December 1826, to the 17th February, 1827 . . .* (York, 1827), appendix.

during the later years of that period, was on the north side of King Street, east of Berkeley Street, and was described as an "Elegant and Commodious Mansion, Built and lately occupied by A. N. McNabb [later Sir Allan] . . . with a Large Garden, Spacious Yard, and every necessary out-building . . . occupying altogether One Acre of Land . . . ."[37] During the same period he maintained his properties at Port Hope and Rice Lake. As King's Printer, Fothergill published the official government paper, the *Upper Canada Gazette*. On the same sheet, starting April 18, 1822, he printed the *Weekly Register*, a private newspaper containing news from the English papers as well as "a great deal of excellent reading on subjects connected with literature and natural history." As pointed out by Scadding, "from this publication may be gathered much of the current history of the period."[38] A nature column, which Fothergill conducted in the *Register*, starting May 30, 1822, was probably the first such column to appear in any Canadian newspaper. Although the items were culled mostly from English and United States papers, occasional items were original notes from the editor's pen. As a publisher, he printed what is said to have been the first poem published in Upper Canada. It was entitled "Wonder of the West," or "A Day at the Falls of Niagara in 1825" and was written by J. L. Alexander, a teacher in York Grammar School.[39] Fothergill wrote a series of annual almanacs and two farmers' guides.[40] The *York Almanacs and Royal Calendars of Upper Canada* became volumes of from four to five hundred pages, "filled with practical and official information on the subject of Canada and the other British American colonies."[41] The *Canadian Farmer's Almanacs and General Memorandum-books* were reprinted in the old country, particularly in Scotland, and have been described as "best-sellers of by-gone days."[42] An ambitious work, to be entitled "The Canadian Annual Register" (three-page prospectus of which appeared in July, 1823), never did materialize.[43] It was to have included sections on the early history of Canada; a chronicle of

[37] *Upper Canada Gazette*, Sept. 2, 1824 and *U. E. Loyalist*, Nov. 11 to Dec. 30, 1826.
[38] Rev. H. Scadding and J. C. Dent, *Toronto: Past and Present: Historical and Descriptive* (Toronto, 1884), 81, 96-7.
[39] Niagara Historical Society, *Notes on Niagara 1759-1860*, no. 32 (about 1920), 40.
[40] Charles Fothergill, *The Canadian Farmer's Almanac and General Memorandum-book for the Year 1824*—also for 1825 (York, 1823, 1824).
[41] The Rev. Dr. Scadding, "Toronto of Old: A Series of Collections and Recollections" (*Canadian Journal*, new series, 1869, XII, 348-51).
[42] *Canadian Book of Printing* (Toronto, 1940), 49.
[43] Charles Fothergill, *Prospectus of a New Work to be Entitled the Canadian Annual Register* . . . (York, July, 1823).

the year's events; a list of births, marriages, deaths, and removals; parliamentary register and lists of acts passed by both parliaments; proclamations; orders-in-council; biographical accounts of celebrated Canadians; new discoveries in natural history; progresses in agriculture; useful projects; new inventions; antiquities; essays, and poems by Canadians; and a chapter on new books written during the year.

In 1825, Fothergill married Eliza Richardson, of Pickering. They had seven children.[44] She died at Whitby in 1892, surviving him by fifty-two years, and was buried in the Friends' Burial Ground in Pickering. The present writer has been able to trace only four children of this marriage (in addition to the three sons of his former marriage), yet, in a letter Fothergill wrote to Sir Francis Bond Head, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, on June 6, 1836, that Canada was "the native land of eight out of ten" of his children. At any rate, the children of Messrs. Arthur, Rowland, and George M'Gonigle are sixth-generation Fothergills. They are great-great-grandsons of Caroline Amelia (1828-1909), one of Fothergill's daughters.

Fothergill visited the Niagara frontier in 1817, 1822, 1824, and 1839 (and perhaps on other occasions) and in October, 1823, he visited Peale's Museum in Philadelphia and Scudder's "American Museum" in New York. He mentioned fishing off the Newfoundland banks, perhaps on his voyage to Canada, elsewhere in his manuscripts.

From March 31, 1825, to January, 1831, Fothergill represented Durham County in the ninth and tenth parliaments of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada. In the House, he aligned himself with Dr. William Warren Baldwin and his group of moderate reformers. Neither Baldwin nor Fothergill were agitators, however, and both deeply deplored the uprising of 1837.[45]

Prudence, however, was not one of Fothergill's characteristics. Dr. Thomas Rolph once told Mrs. Fothergill that her husband "had every sense but good sense." He had a "habit of speaking his mind very bluntly, in his capacity as legislator,"[46] and he incurred the wrath of the Family Compact, who were the ruling power of the period. As King's Printer, Fothergill was the only member of the House who held an office at the pleasure of the Executive and it was not surprising that, after voting on several occasions

[44] *Weekly Register*, March 24, 1825.
[45] *Palladium*, Jan. 3, 1838.
[46] Lindsey, *The Life and Times of Wm. Lyon Mackenzie*, I, 71-3.

against the administration, he should be deprived of his office by the Lieutenant-Governor in 1826.[47] The fact that he was made the victim of the Executive's revenge was only a realization of the fear he expressed to the electors of his constituency when he first ran, namely, that he would probably find it difficult as a public servant and legislator to serve two masters. He did not allow his private interests to interfere with the conscientious discharge of his duties in the House, with consequences to his own fortunes that were anything but happy. His dismissal was an unpopular one, to judge from statements made both in the legislature and in the York press, and in this connection it must be remembered that the majority of Upper Canadians, even in the House, were opposed to Sir Peregrine Maitland's government, and Fothergill was simply expressing his dislike for an administration which "has not met with the unqualified approval of historians." Three incidents led to his dismissal. First was his motion in November, 1825, requesting that the scattered land-granting offices be consolidated and a reckoning of their revenue produced before the Assembly. Next was his support of a motion in December, 1825, on the expediency of having the post-office revenue placed under the Assembly's control. Lastly, was his vote, in January, 1826, for a motion which sought the full rights of natural-born British subjects for all persons then in Upper Canada who had been born, or whose fathers or paternal grandfathers had been born, under the British flag in the United States, prior to the treaty of 1783.

His denunciation of the Family Compact was scarcely less violent than his attitude towards Robert Gourlay and William Lyon Mackenzie. Although he could not deny entertaining "some personal respect" for Mackenzie and his ideals, he considered him, nevertheless, a "crack-brained demagogue and . . . caterer of loathsome food for depraved appetites."[48]

In the years preceding the Rebellion of 1837, Fothergill took an active part in support of the government's attempts to quell the impending uprising. In 1829 he drew the attention of the administration to the growing dissatisfaction among a certain radical element of the population, around Port Hope, and endeavoured to have the government establish an unofficial newspaper there, under his editorship, to assist in offsetting the movement. In February, 1832, at a public meeting at Amherst court

[47] *Weekly Register*, Jan. 19, 1826.
[48] *Ibid.*, May 27 and Nov. 18, 1824.

house (Cobourg), which was largely attended, he moved a strong resolution in behalf of the inhabitants, expressing loyalty to the Crown. The resolution was carried and the supporters of Mackenzie silenced.

Despite his antipathy toward Mackenzie, Fothergill on one occasion, later, came to his support in a court case. Of that incident, Fothergill wrote the following to Mackenzie in a letter from Toronto of July 25, 1837, on the occasion of receiving three writs from him in connection with notes Fothergill had made out in his favour. Presumably they had to do with rental on exhibition space in the Market Square buildings for the material which was to have formed the nucleus of a museum planned at Toronto by Fothergill and his associates (Mackenzie occupied rooms in the same buildings):

> Reflect, for a moment, how differently I acted towards you, when your fortunes hung in the balance, that might have been turned either way by the slightest effort on my part. Yes, when your entire hope of success in this country depended upon my single word, as your own letters to me at the time, and the verdict of the jury fully testify—what did I do? I instantly quit the bed of sickness, on which I was then lying, and came up to this city at imminent hazard of my life . . . and although I well knew I should incur the mortal enmity of your powerful enemies (the effects of which I have since experienced to a fatal extent) I gave that evidence in your favour which produced a verdict that laid the foundation of all your subsequent power and celebrity.

Fothergill was far-sighted, and ahead of his time. Scadding has remarked that "many plans of his in the interests of literature and science came to nothing for the want of a sufficient body of seconders." His proposal, in 1825, while a member of the House, that steps be taken to create a federal government for all the British provinces in North America, was forty-two years in advance of the creation of the Dominion of Canada. The majority of the House rejected his proposal, terming it "visionary."[49]

He attempted, in 1830, to interest the governments of Lower and Upper Canada, the Hudson's Bay Company, the Natural History Society of Montreal, and the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, in a three-year scientific expedition to the Pacific coast. The expedition, of which he was to be zoologist, was to have included also a botanist, a mineralogist, an astronomer, and the necessary assistants, and was to explore the possibilities of the settlement of the West, in addition to a careful study of the natural resources of the country. Many persons approached expressed regret at their inability to assist such a worthy project, but the scheme failed to materialize.

[49] *Palladium*, March 28, 1838.

Fothergill's efforts to have established at York a Provincial Museum of Natural History and Civil History, with Botanical and Zoological Gardens and Observatory attached, and an Art Gallery, have already been alluded to. As Scadding has stated, the proposal was "probably too bold in its conception and too advanced to be justly appreciated by a sufficient number of the contemporary public."[50] In this venture, Fothergill was associated with Dr. William Rees,[51] surgeon and meteorologist of York, and Dr. William "Tiger" Dunlop, a well-known figure in Upper Canada, who did much for education and for the arts and sciences. Several petitions to the legislature, starting in February, 1830, resulted in the sponsors receiving the patronage of Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Colborne, and the appropriation of "a piece of ground on the Military Reserve behind the Garrison, and near Farr's Brewery, containing a little more than two acres" from Lieutenant-Governor Sir Francis Bond Head in 1836, for the proposed institution.[52] Funds, public or otherwise, with which to build the museum, however, were not forthcoming.

Fothergill's collection, which was to have formed the nucleus of the museum, was on display in Toronto, starting about 1835, first in Chewett's buildings at the south-east corner of King and York Streets,[53] then in the Market Square buildings (now St. Lawrence Hall), and, finally, one door south of the *Palladium* newspaper office, at the corner of York and Boulton (now Pearl) Streets. There it was destroyed by fire a few weeks after Fothergill's death in 1840.[54] Fothergill's printed prospectus for the institution (April, 1835),[55] and Allan MacNab's report to the legislature as chairman of the Select Committee appointed to report on the matter (January, 1837)—the report strongly recommended the granting of a loan of £2,000 to build the museum—outlined the extent of the collections that had been formed for the proposed institution. Fothergill's son, George Alexander Fothergill, was to have been the curator of the museum, and the building was to have been a facsimile of the Parthenon at Athens.

On February 19, 1830, Fothergill succeeded in having passed

[50]Scadding, "Toronto of Old" (*Canadian Journal*, new series, 1871, XIII, 182-5).

[51]A. G. Meredith, *Mary's Rosedale and Gossip of "Little York"* (Ottawa, 1928), 99.

[52]See letter from Fothergill to Sir Francis Bond Head of Oct. 20, 1836, in the volume of Fothergill letters in the University of Toronto Library.

[53]*Palladium*, Jan. 31, 1838.

[54]*Toronto Patriot*, June 23, 1840; *Christian Guardian*, June 24, 1840; and *Toronto Mirror*, June 26, 1840.

[55]Charles Fothergill, *Proposed Lyceum of Natural History, and the Fine Arts, in the City of Toronto, U.C.* (Toronto, April, 1835).

an Act for the better preservation of salmon within this province, only to have the Executive veto it. Another, a bill which did receive royal assent, was his Act passed five days later to encourage the establishment of agricultural societies in the several districts of the province. This measure gave the first effective impulse to the holding of agricultural fairs and cattle markets. In 1831 and 1832, he contributed articles to the columns of the *Cobourg Star*, under the pen-name "Atticus."[56] Nine of these appeared in 1831 and two in 1832 and covered a great variety of subjects—the snapping turtle, the flying squirrel, Indian traditions, history of the art of writing, practical description of the interior of the Newcastle District, duties of parish and town officers, snow-crystals, etc.

On July 22, 1831, Fothergill, Rees, and Dunlop founded the Literary and Philosophical Society of Upper Canada, at York.[57] This society, although short-lived,[58] was the first in the province designed, among other things, "to promote the study of Natural History."[59] It was the intention of the founders to have Archdeacon (later Bishop) Strachan and Chief Justice (later Sir) John Beverley Robinson as the society's patrons but both respectfully declined, the former on the grounds that it might interfere with the college (King's College, now the University of Toronto) and that such a society would scarcely be required in Upper Canada for another hundred years, and the latter on the ground that he had too much respect for the interests of literature to assume duties which he was sure he would so ill discharge. Fothergill's antipathetic attitude toward the Family Compact, of which Strachan and Robinson were leading figures, however, may be taken as the principal reason behind their unwillingness to co-operate in the new venture. At Toronto, Fothergill did much toward the encouragement of art and science. He exhibited[60] ten water-colours of English birds, plants, fishes, portraits, and scenery at the first exhibition of the Society of Artists and Amateurs on July 1, 1834. Of these, the catalogue (preserved in the Toronto Public Library) remarked: "some show considerable merit."

From 1831 to 1837, Fothergill lived at Pickering Mills, Lot 15, Concession 1, Pickering Township. There, on an elaborate scale,

[56]See Clendenan manuscript, p. 17.

[57][G. P. Ure], *The Hand-Book of Toronto . . .* (Toronto, 1858), 188.

[58]J. E. Middleton, *The Municipality of Toronto: A History* (Toronto, 1923), I, 419; II, 679.

[59]George Walton, *York Commercial Directory, Street Guide and Register, 1833-4: with Almanack and Calendar for 1834* (York, 1833), 29, 136.

[60]William Colgate, *Canadian Art: 1820 to 1940* (Toronto, 1943).

he planned the creation of a village by the name of Monadelphia.[61] It was to comprise 387 acres owned by Fothergill, including a part of the present village of Pickering, south of the Kingston Road. Plans were made for tavern, churches, printing office, etc., and the village was to include saw and grist mills,[62] distillery, barns, other buildings, and dwelling-houses, many of which had already been erected by 1834. The plan of the proposed village was not duly registered, however, and the project failed to materialize.

More misfortunes overtook him in his Pickering venture. One of his mills was burned down by a salmon poacher he had previously prosecuted, both his dams were carried away by floods, his own sons neglected their responsibilities in the venture, and the owner of the original fifty acres was guilty of misrepresentation in selling Fothergill the property. These misfortunes, added to grief and anxiety for the material welfare of his large family, so undermined his health that, in 1837, doctors despaired of his life.

His last venture was the establishment of a printing office at the corner of York and Boulton Streets, Toronto, just before the Rebellion of 1837. There he launched the *Palladium of British America, and Upper Canada Mercantile Advertiser*, a weekly newspaper of which his eldest son, Charles Forbes Fothergill, was co-proprietor.[63] It was an attractive publication, patterned after the *New York Albion* but only about one hundred issues were printed. His address, from July 25, 1837, was "the City Hotel, Toronto." Poems by Susannah Moodie and her husband, of Melsetter, Douro Township, appeared in the newspaper in its early issues, written especially for *Palladium* readers. Other publications emanating from his printing office during that period were *Mackenzie's Own Narrative of the Late Rebellion* (critical notes by Fothergill),[64] the *Toronto Almanac and Royal Calendar of Upper Canada for 1839*, and *Canada, the Last Hope of England*.[65] In the last-named, Fothergill outlined his belief that the British connection was essential to Canada's welfare. The *Palladium* was not a success and was terminated by Fothergill's death in 1840. Samuel Thompson has left an illuminating description of the printing office and its proprietor in the following words:

> Early in the year 1839, I obtained an engagement as manager of the *Palladium*, a newspaper issued by C . . . Fothergill . . . . The printing office, situated at the

[61] J. E. Farewell, *County of Ontario: Short Notes as to the Early Settlement and Progress of the County* . . . (Whitby, 1907), 11, 14, 15, 24.

[62] W. H. Higgins, *The Life and Times of Joseph Gould* . . . (Toronto, 1887), 128, 136.

[63] *Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada* . . . *Twenty-eighth* . . . *December, 1837 to* . . . *sixth March, 1838* (Toronto, 1838), 33.

[64] Charles Fothergill, *Mackenzie's Own Narrative of the Late Rebellion*—notes by Fothergill (Toronto, 1838).

[65] Charles Fothergill, *Canada, the Last Hope of England* (Toronto?, 1839 or 1840).

corner of York and Boulton Streets, was very small, and I found it a mass of little better than *pi*, with an old hand-press of the Columbian pattern . . . . Mr. Fothergill was a man of talent, a scholar and a gentleman, but so entirely given up to the study of natural history and the practice of taxidermy that his newspaper received but scant attention and his personal appearance and the cleanliness of his surroundings still less . . . . His family sometimes suffered from the want of common necessaries, while the money which should have fed them went to pay for some rare bird or strange fish . . . . This could not last long. The *Palladium* died a natural death, and I had to seek elsewhere for employment.[66]

One of his last proposals was made in 1839 when, lamenting on the great loss which the London and Western Districts of Upper Canada had sustained in the cession of Michigan, he stated that a measure that would go far to recompense the evil that had been inflicted was the construction of a railroad to south Georgian Bay, a dream not fulfilled until sixteen years later, when F. C. Capreol caught the idea and gave it embodiment in the Northern Railroad, opened to Barrie in 1853 and to Collingwood in 1855.[67]

Fothergill died at Toronto on May 22, 1840 "in wretched circumstances,"[68] one day before his fifty-eighth birthday. His remains were interred in the burying ground of the Cathedral Church of St. James. An oil painting of him, done about 1835, is in the possession of a grandson, Mr. Charles Theodore Fothergill, of Whitby. A photograph of this painting has been reproduced to accompany this article.

The discovery of Fothergill's manuscript volumes was not unexpected. As long ago as 1869, the Rev. Dr. Henry Scadding remarked that "several folio volumes of closely written manuscript, on the birds and animals generally of this continent, by [Fothergill] . . . must exist somewhere at this moment."[69] Then, in 1894, the Rev. John Doel, writing on early records of the cougar in southern Ontario, quoted a record from page 56 of a "manuscript diary of Charles Fothergill . . . in the Toronto Public Library."[70] Ten years later, in 1904, Mr. Paul Hahn was informed by Miss Florence McGillivray (since deceased), then an art teacher at Ontario Ladies' College, Whitby, that she was a granddaughter of Charles Fothergill and that her brother, Dr. Charles McGillivray, of Whitby, had a manuscript volume of their grandfather's in which were some paintings of birds and a great mass of written data on the animal life of Upper Canada.

[66]Samuel Thompson, "Reminiscenses of a Canadian Pioneer" (*Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review*, VII, Oct. and Nov., 1881, 409, 511-12).

[67][Ure], *Hand-Book of Toronto*, 208.

[68]Gourlay, *The Banished Briton and Neptunian*, I, 149-50; II, 498.

[69]Scadding, "Toronto of Old" (*Canadian Journal*, new series, 1869, XII, 348-51).

[70]The Rev. John Doel, "The Panther in Canada" (*Biological Review of Ontario*, I, 1894, 18-19, 23).

The first of the Fothergill manuscripts to come to the attention of living naturalists, however, was in April, 1931. It was the manuscript from which Doel had quoted thirty-seven years earlier. Despite Doel's assertion that it had been in the Toronto Public Library, its owner, Miss Mary Clendenan (since deceased), of Ottawa, assured the present writer that it had never been out of her possession since it was given to her by her grandmother (Charles Fothergill's widow) some seventy years ago. Before her death, Miss Clendenan willed it to the Royal Ontario Museum of Zoology. It is a volume of 561 pages, filled with natural history data in Fothergill's hand, entitled "Memoirs and Illustrations of Natural History in Various Parts of the British Empire, Vols. 1 and 2." It was compiled between 1826 and 1840 and includes mention of 147 birds, 44 mammals, 13 reptiles, 11 fishes, and 2 amphibians, of Canada, and of a great many animals of the British Isles. Mr. P. A. Taverner, then ornithologist of the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa, learned of its existence in 1931, through the late Miss Florence McGillivray, cousin of its owner.

Next to come to light was the McGillivray volume, of whose existence Mr. Hahn had learned in 1904. Mr. R. D. Black, Toronto naturalist, "rediscovered" it in Whitby in 1932 and, in due course, the volume was presented to the Royal Ontario Museum of Zoology by Major George A. McGillivray, son of its owner and nephew of Miss McGillivray. It is a vellum-bound volume of 373 pages, entitled "Canadian Researches Chiefly in Natural History—C.F.—Commenced in the Autumn of 1816, Vol. 3d—Materials for a Natural History of the World—Vol. 1st." In it, Fothergill describes 119 birds, 23 mammals, 20 fishes, 7 reptiles, and 1 amphibian, and the information is entirely supplementary to that in the Clendenan volume. An account of the contents of the McGillivray manuscript was placed on record by Mr. Black in the *Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute* in 1934.[71]

In 1934, seven additional Fothergill manuscripts turned up at an auction sale of books in Toronto. Five of them were ultimately acquired by the Royal Ontario Museum of Zoology (on the death in 1940 of Mr. J. H. Fleming, who had bought them from dealers after the sale), one by Mr. Douglas S. Robertson, a trustee of the John Ross Robertson Estate and one of the publishers of the *Toronto Evening Telegram* (who has willed it to the

[71]R. D. Black, "Charles Fothergill's Notes on the Natural History of Eastern Canada, 1816-1837" (*Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute*, XX, part I, Sept., 1934, 141-68).

University of Toronto Library), and one by the University of Toronto Library. These volumes appeared in the sale of the library of the late Mr. Lawrence Heyden. They had previously been in the possession of Mr. John Joshua Fothergill (since deceased), of Whitby, youngest son of Charles Fothergill. The Robertson volume is entitled "A Few Notes on My Trip from Quebec to York in February, 1817," the volume now in the University of Toronto bears the title "Rough Copies of Letters written by Charles Fothergill to Various Persons From the Year 1829 [to 1837], Vol. 2nd—See the remarks in the title page of Vol. 1st—" and the volumes acquired by the late Mr. Fleming were all written in England prior to Fothergill's departure for Canada in 1816. Two of the English manuscripts, describing in detail Fothergill's observations on British natural history, are entitled "Zoological Descriptions and Comments—C.F. 1805—Vol. 1" and "Descriptions and Remarks in British Zoology—C.F. 1807—Original Sketches Towards a Natural History of the British Empire Both at Home and Abroad—C.F."; one contains miscellaneous notes, one is entitled "Notes for A Tour to the North-western Dales of Yorkshire, 1805.—C.F., Vol. 1st," and one contains forty-eight original sketches of English birds, insects, plants, and scenery.

Two additional manuscripts, the tenth and eleventh to be discovered, were received at the Royal Ontario Museum of Zoology in 1939, the gift of Miss C. Helen Fotheringham, of Toronto, a great-granddaughter of Fothergill. One is entitled "Anecdotes and Reflections, On the Manners;— Customs;—Opinions;—Amusements;—Virtues;— Vices;—Government, Political & Religious;—Arts;—Sciences, &c &c of the People of Great Britain & Ireland—By Charles Fothergill—Noted down at different times, from his own experience, as the groundwork of a series of the most important lessons in wisdom, moral virtue, & religion—" and the other "Some Collections, and Sketches, made towards a Natural and Civil History of Yorkshire.— By Charles Fothergill.— Containing different Tours & Surveys—with remarks and observations made by himself on the spot—together with some extracts made from scarce & curious books relating to the county—Illustrated with original Drawings, and numerous scarce, curious, and beautiful engravings—Vol. 1st.—This work, with the set of larger illustrations, is intended as a kind of general Magazine of Materials for a compleat History of the County." Both were written in England about 1810. Another volume came to the

same museum in 1939, as a result of the present writer's visit with Miss Fotheringham. It is vellum-bound, contains about three hundred pages, is entitled "References & Quotations, &c., &c. &c.—C.F.—Vol. 4th,—1816—That is, commenced in 1816, the year of my Emigration to Canada—An active dwarf is better than a sleeping giant," and was in the possession of Mrs. Dora Atkinson, of Toronto, another of Fothergill's great-granddaughters.

The thirteenth item, brought to the present writer's attention in 1940 by Mr. William Colgate, is a manuscript of ninety-two pages in the Blacker Library of Zoology, McGill University, Montreal, Quebec. Two sketches of the Irish Elk accompany it and it is entitled "An Essay Descriptive of the Quadrupeds of British North America; With their Generic, and Specific Characters, modes of life, and the uses to which they can be applied. By Charles Fothergill . . . 1830." It was written for the Natural History Society of Montreal, who had advertised in the *Upper Canada Gazette*, July 16, 1829, for essays on Canadian plants, animals, science other than natural history, and literature, to "encourage a spirit of research and to create a taste for scientific pursuits." Fothergill was a corresponding member of the society and was awarded their silver medal for the best contribution submitted on animals. In it he describes 117 mammals, including twelve domesticated ones, arranged in twenty-six genera following Pennant's arrangement. This manuscript has been photographed on 35 mm. film for the Royal Ontario Museum of Zoology. In the introduction to the essay, after apologies for its short-comings and congratulations to the society for fostering the study of the natural history "of a country as yet but little known to the natural philosophers and *literati* of Europe," Fothergill stated that he had "found it no small matter to steal a sufficient number of hours (and those chiefly in the night) from other duties to throw together, and arrange, the contents of these pages, which, such as they are, he humbly presents to the Natural History Society, as an unworthy, but a very sincere, offering."

The fourteenth manuscript was found in 1944 in the hands of another of Fothergill's great-granddaughters, Miss Mary Fothergill Reid, of Ottawa. It contains 117 pages, is entitled "Pursuits of Natural History in various parts of the British Empire," and has been willed to the Royal Ontario Museum of Zoology. In it are descriptions and mentions of a number of Canadian and British animals, as well as an account of stock taken into his general

store at Port Hope in 1817 and 1818. The book had been used, subsequent to Fothergill's death, as a scrapbook, and it was necessary to remove the clippings before the written contents could be ascertained. This volume, as well as the McGillivray and Clendenan volumes, has been photographed on 35 mm. film by the Toronto Public Library.

The fifteenth manuscript, presented to the same museum in 1944 by Mrs. Atkinson, of Toronto, contains 140 pages, is vellum-bound, and is entitled "References & Quotations—Necessary for my intended Work entitled Sketches, &c. &c. Vol. 2nd Commenced in the Library of the British Museum Octr. 1st 1804.—C.F."

The sixteenth item, and the most recently discovered, was presented to the museum in 1944 by Fothergill's grandson, Mr. Charles Theodore Fothergill, of Whitby. It is entitled "Some Account of Charles Fothergill's Stud of Horses—Containing their ages, pedigrees, when and where bred, of whom bought, and to whom sold, &c. &c. &c.—kept by himself—Vol. 2d—Continued from the first vol: begun in the year 1799—York—1810—Amongst which also is given an account of the Different Cows, Sheep, Swine, &c. kept by him at Sundry Times."

For the preservation of these historical items for more than a century in such good condition and for their ultimate presentation to Canadian institutions, the descendants of Charles Fothergill have earned the gratitude of naturalists and of historians in general. Other factors which have contributed towards their preservation are precautions taken by the compiler himself—all are written in India ink, on good rag paper, and sewn together or bound in vellum or good stiff boards.

It is likely that other manuscripts exist. The volume of letters in the University of Toronto Library is marked "Vol. 2," the list of Fothergill's horses is marked "Vol. 2," no trace has been found of his diary of his trip across the Atlantic in 1816, of his vocabulary of the Rice Lake Indians, or of a paper he sent to Dr. Skey, President of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in 1835, entitled "Essay on the Migration of the Salmon." Also, the volumes from Mrs. Atkinson, entitled "References and Quotations," lack volumes 1 and 3.

The present writer has made no attempt to ascertain the number of British animals discussed in the Fothergill records, but his Canadian descriptions and notes concern approximately 186 birds, 105 mammals (not including domesticated ones), 27 fishes,

15 reptiles, and 2 amphibians. The descriptions were, in nearly all cases, given in great detail, and were prepared with such care that one experiences little difficulty in identifying the animals concerned. There is no question that Fothergill was the pioneer naturalist of southern Ontario and the care with which he made his notes stamps him as one of the most important of the early naturalists of Canada.

The difficulties under which he laboured must have been tremendous. There was little literature pertaining to Canadian animals, he did not have the advantage of kindred souls with whom to associate, he lacked camera and binoculars, and his means of transportation would be limited to horse (and buggy or sleigh), boat, or foot.

Since his manuscripts were not unearthed until recently and his museum did not survive, Fothergill exerted no great influence on the development of natural history studies in Ontario. Potentially, however, he was of great importance. As a naturalist, and illustrator of animals, he ranked with the best of his period, but, lacking the advantages of other contemporary naturalists in the United States and in England, his work was not published, and, consequently, was not as widely known or recognized as it deserved.

Aside altogether from his accomplishments in the field of zoology, and art, Fothergill was a liberal and courageous public-spirited citizen, promoter of emigration, essayist, newspaper publisher, King's Printer, eloquent and patriotic legislator, magistrate, patron of the arts and sciences at a period in the history of Upper Canada when the promotion of culture had few other champions, and, all-in-all, a figure of sufficient importance to merit fully this belated tribute.

In a sense, the present paper is a fulfilment of an appeal made by one of the editors of a Toronto paper at the time of Fothergill's death in 1840, in the following words:

> The memory of a public man ought not to be suffered to pass away with merely a passing notice, and we trust that the pen of some friend, acquainted with Mr. Fothergill's public career will favour the world with, at all events, a brief memoir of his life; we could name more than one person—who remembering Mr. Fothergill, in his palmy days, as the eloquent Politician and patriotic Legislator—from whom this task might be expected, and we indulge the expectation that our suggestion will not fall, heedless, to the ground . . . . It is well known that Mr. Fothergill had been engaged for many years previous to his decease, in collecting a museum of natural and other curiosities—this collection—the labour of a life—is both instructive and interesting, and we certainly hope that it will not be permitted to

be broken up and dispersed . . . . A Cabinet of nature and of art is an almost necessary ingredient in the composition of a University, and we earnestly hope that the present opportunity of forming a *Nucleus* of a future Provincial Museum, at a very moderate outlay, will receive a proper consideration from the Directors of King's College.[72]

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We would be remiss in our duties were we not also to express our grateful acknowledgement of the help which has been freely provided by the Toronto Public Library, the Royal Ontario Museum of Zoology library, the University of Toronto Library, the library of the Law Society of Upper Canada, the Legislative Library of Ontario, the Department of Public Records and Archives (Ontario), and the Peter Redpath Library of McGill University, Montreal, Quebec. Without the hearty cooperation of the officials of these institutions, much information in the present paper would not have been available.

[72]Thomas Dalton, *Toronto Patriot*, May 26, 1840.

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